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REMARKS OF SENATOR BOB DOLE NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN CONVENTION RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA SATURDAY, MAY 19, 1979

AS ALWAYS, IT'S A PLEASURE FOR ME TO COME BACK TO NORTH CAROLINA. THIS IS THE STATE THAT HAS GIVEN US ONE OF THE STRONGEST REPUBLICAN PARTIES IN THE SOUTH, AND ME A WIFE. SO I'M DOUBLY GRATEFUL TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF THE TARHEEL STATE.

ANYONE WHO QUESTIONS THE FUTURE OF THE GOP NEED ONLY LOOK OVER THIS ROOM FOR REASSURANCE. IT'S NOT JUST THE SIZE OF THE CROWD--IT'S WHO IS HERE. IT'S THE BACKBONE OF AMERICA. THE PEOPLE WHO WORK ALL THEIR LIVES, WHO EARN THEIR WAY AND WHO PASS ON TO THEIR CHILDREN THEIR AMBITIONS FOR A LIFE EVEN BETTER. YOU'RE THE PEOPLE WHO PAY THE TAXES AND KEEP ALIVE THE SPECIAL IDEA OF AMERICA. YOU KNOW, LIKE EVERY GOOD REPUBLICAN, THAT COMPASSION AND COMPETENCE ARE INDIVIDUAL VIRTUES, NOT SOMETHING YOU CAN INSTITUTIONALIZE THROUGH GOVERNMENT. -2-

YOU BELIEVE IN THIS COUNTRY AND WHAT IT STANDS FOR. YOU BELIEVE THAT IT STANDS FOR THE INDIVIDUAL, THAT IT ENCOURAGES EACH MAN AND WOMAN TO BE ALL THEY CAN BE. AND, BECAUSE YOU BELIEVE, YOU AGREE WITH ME THAT AMERICA HAS A SPECIAL ROLE TO PLAY IN THE MODERN WORLD. SHE CANNOT RETREAT FROM HER RESPONSIBILITIES. FOR WE ARE THE LAST, BEST HOPE OF FREEDOM. MILLIONS OF PEOPLE LOOK TO US AS A BEACON OF HOPE.

IT'S EASY TO REDUCE ANY POLITICAL DEBATE TO TWO ISSUES: <u>PEACE</u> <u>AND PROSPERITY</u>. IN FACT, BASIC DIFFERENCES EXIST ON HOW TO ACHIEVE THSES GOALS. DEMOCRATS, AT LEAST THOSE WHO MAKE UP THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, HAVE NEVER GOTTEN OVER THE NEW DEAL. THEY STILL ACCEPT GOVERNMENT AS ARBITER IN ALL THINGS. THEY STILL THINK THAT GOODNESS AND JUSTICE AND HUMAN MORALITY CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH REGULATION AND ORDERS ISSUED FROM ABOVE. EVER SINCE THE ORDEAL OF VIETNAM, THEY SEEM TO THINK THAT AMERICA IS SOME KIND OF INTERNATIONAL TROUBLEMAKER. TRUST THE SOVIETS, RECOGNIZE THE CHINESE, CAST OFF OLD ALLIES LIKE TAIWAN.

WELL, I REJECT ALL THAT. I THINK YOU REJECT IT TOO. AMERICA IS NOT A TROUBLEMAKER. SHE IS NOT A THREAT TO PEACE; SHE IS THE PROTECTOR OF PEACE.

IF GOVERNMENT HAS TWO OVERRIDING PURPOSES, IT IS THESE: ONE, TO PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE. ARE WE DOING THAT TODAY?

AND, SECOND, TO UNLEASH THE NATURAL TALENTS OF INDIVIDUAL MEN AND WOMEN TO ACHIEVE FOR THEMSELVES ALL THE PROSPERITY THAT BRAINS AND DETERMINATION CAN ACCOMPLISH. ARE WE ENCOURAGING THAT TODAY?

THE ANSWERS TO THOSE TWO QUESTIONS WILL DETERMINE WHO WINS THE 1980 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. AND I THINK YOU KNOW THE ANSWERS ALREADY.

FREEING FREE ENTERPRISE

NOW IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO SAY JIMMY CARTER'S FAILED AND WE'RE AVAILABLE. WE'VE GOT TO PRESENT A POSITIVE REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVE. AND THAT'S WHAT YOU AND I ARE HERE FOR.

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FIRST THINGS FIRST: DOES ANYONE DOUBT THAT INFLATION AND THE ECONOMIC STAGNATION FOSTERED BY BIG GOVERNMENT ARE THE BIGGEST SINGLE CAUSE OF AMERICA'S PROBLEMS TODAY? JIMMY CARTER DIDN'T START OUR SLIDE TOWARD THE PANIC AND POLARIZATION OF PERMANENT INFLATION CREATES. BUT LOOK AT THE RECORD: INFLATION HAS MORE THAN DOUBLED SINCE PRESIDENT CARTER TOOK OFFICE IN JANUARY, 1977. EVERY TIME THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA GO TO A SUPERMARKET OR A GAS STATION OR A SPORTING EVENT THEY FEEL FOR THEMSELVES THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GERALD FORD'S 5 PERCENT INFLATION AND JIMMY CARTER'S 13 PERCENT. AND YOU AND I HAVE COME TO UNDERSTAND THE RELATION BETWEEN PRODUCTIVITY AND PRICES.

A NATION THAT SACRIFICES PRODUCTIVITY INVITES HIGH PRICES, AND A STAGNANT ECONOMY. ULTIMATELY, IT SACRIFICES WORLD LEADERSHIP. FOR A WEAKENED DOLLAR IS AS DANGEROUS AS A SOVIET MISSILE.

MODERN GOVERNMENT HAS PUT A STRANGLEHOLD ON THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE. IT HAS REGULATED AWAY \$100 BILLION IN INVESTMENT EACH YEAR, AND PASSED THE COST ON TO THE CONSUMER. IT HAS ADOPTED TAX POLICIES THAT WORK AGAINST CAPITAL FORMATION, AND ACTUALLY DISCOURAGE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT. IT'S BLED OUR PRIVATE SECTOR, AND MOVED TO TAKE CONTROL OF THE WHOLE VAST MACHINERY OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMY. IT'S TIME TO REMIND WASHINGTON: YOU DON'T ACHIEVE FAIRNESS BY PROSECUTING THE PRODUCTIVE. YOU ACHIEVE INSTEAD, INFLATION, UNEMPLOYMENT AND A TARNISHED AMERICA, IN WHICH EVERYONE SHARES THE SAME GOAL--AN EQUAL SHARE OF MEDIOCRITY.

PRODUCING OUR WAY TO ENERGY INDEPENDENCE

NOWHERE HAS THIS SHORTSIGHTED APPROACH PROVED MORE DISASTROUS THAN IN THE ENERGY FIELD. I BELIEVE THAT THE ENERGY CRISIS CAN BE SOLVED, NOT SIMPLY BY RAISING TAXES OR CONSERVING WHAT OIL AND GAS SUPPLIES REMAIN IN THE GROUND, BUT BY VIGOROUSLY PROMOTING THE SEARCH FOR NEW OIL, NEW GAS AND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES FOR HEATING OUR HOMES AND FACTORIES. THERE'S A HUNDRED YEARS OF ENERGY IN AMERICA'S SHALE OIL DEPOSITS. THE EQUIVALENT OF BILLIONS OF BARRELS OF OIL IN OUR COAL DEPOSITS. A RECENT CONGRESSIONAL STUDY ESTIMATES AS MANY AS THREE MILLION NEW JOBS COULD BE CREATED BY 1990 IN THE SOLAR INDUSTRY ALONE.

HYDROELECTRIC, GEOTHERMAL, EVEN THE WIND AND WAVES THEMSELVES: A PRESIDENT AND A PARTY THAT BELIEVED IN OUR FUTURE WOULD BE PRESSING FORWARD NOW WITH DEVELOPMENT OF SUCH BOLD NEW IDEAS. IN THE SENATE, I'M PUSHING FOR THE PRODUCTION OF GASOHOL, AN ALTERNATIVE FUEL COMBINING 10 PERCENT ALCOHOL WITH 90 PERCENT GASOLINE.

I WANT TO SEE ADDITIONAL INVESTMENT TAX CREDITS TO STIMULATE THE PRODUCTION OF THIS ALTERNATIVE FUEL.

I ALSO WANT TO SEE A WINDFALL PROFITS TAX THAT DOESN'T JUST FUNISH PRODUCERS BUT LEADS TO NEW AND VITALLY NEEDED PRODUCTION. IF WE ACCEPT DECONTROL, AND I DO, THEN CONSUMERS MUST AT LEAST BE GUARANTEED AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY TO MEET THEIR ENERGY NEEDS.

AN ANTIDOTE TO INFLATION

IT'S NOT JUST ENERGY WHERE A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION COULD PRODUCE A SOLUTION TO HIGH PRICES AND LOW SUPPLIES. WHAT CAN WE DO TO TURN THE TIDE IN FAVOR OF FREE ENTERPRISE?

WE CAN ENACT A BALANCED BUDGET, WRITING INTO THE VERY FABRIC OF THE CONSTITUTION SAFEGUARDS AGAINST A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL NEVER LIVE WITHIN ITS MEANS UNTIL IT HAS EXHAUSTED ALL OF OURS.

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WE CAN PASS SUBSTANTIAL TAX REDUCTIONS, BOTH PERSONAL AND CORPORATE. PUTTING MORE MONEY IN THE HANDS OF NORTH CAROLINA'S CITIZENS WILL STIMULATE INVESTMENT, STRENGTHEN THE DOLLAR AND HALT THE RELENTLESS DECLINE IN AMERICAN PRESTIGE AT HOME AND OVERSEAS.

WE CAN PASS A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF TAX INDEXING, DOING AWAY WITH GOVERNMENT'S HABIT OF RAISING REVENUE THROUGH INFLATION. AS IT IS, WHEN YOU GET KICKED UPSTAIRS INTO A HIGHER BRACKET BECAUSE INFLATION HAS PUSHED UP YOUR WAGES, THEN GOVERNMENT SLITHERS IN TO SNATCH A LARGER PART OF THAT INCOME.

INDEXING OUR TAX SYSTEM WOULD BE MUCH FAIRER. BUT IT WILL TAKE A REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS TO MAKE IT LAW.

HEALTH INSURANCE

WE CAN PASS A HEALTH INSURANCE PLAN TO MEET THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE--WITHOUT BANKRUPTING OUR ECONOMY AND RELYING ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR. CRADLE-TO-GRAVE HEALTH INSURANCE WON'T WORK. IT'S TOO EXPENSIVE, TOO FAR-FETCHED TO HAVE ANY CHANCE OF ADOPTION.

BUT THAT DOESN'T RELIEVE US OF OUR REPONSIBILITY TO MEET UNMET NEEDS. LAST YEAR SEVEN MILLION FAMILIES PAID 15 PERCENT OR MORE OF THEIR INCOME ON HEALTH COSTS. CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS POSES AN ECONOMIC THREAT OF DEVASTATING DIMENSION TO THE MIDDLE CLASS AS WELL AS THE POOR. UNLESS WE PLUG THOSE GAPS NOW, FUTURE CONGRESSES ARE LIKELY TO APPROVE A FAR MORE EXPENSIVE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE. THAT'S WHY I'VE INTRODUCED A HEALTH INSURANCE PACKAGE OF MY OWN. I WANT TO END THE THREAT OF BANKRUPTCY THAT ACCOMPANIES CATASTROPHIC ILLNESS IN AMERICA, AND I WANT TO END IT THIS YEAR.

SOME TOUGH QUESTIONS ON SALT

IT' NOT ONLY THE DOMESTIC HOUSE WE WANT TO PUT IN ORDER. FOR WE BELIEVE IN AMERICA'S ROLE AS A GREAT INTERNATIONAL POWER. WE BELIEVE THAT SHE HAS COMMITMENTS TO MEET, AND ALLIES TO SUPPORT. IF SHE FAILS IN THIS, HOW CAN WE JUSTIFY OURSELVES TO OUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN?

NOW, LAST WEEK, THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED AGREEMENT ON A NEW SALT TREATY. I CONGRATULATE HIM ON THIS, BECAUSE I WANT A WORLD AT PEACE AS MUCH AS ANY MAN OR WOMAN ALIVE. I'VE SEEN MEN DIE AT MY FEET. I LIVE WITH THE WOUNDS OF WAR, AND I WANT TO VOTE FOR ANY ARMS AGREEMENT THAT WILL ENHANCE AMERICAN SECURITY. BUT WILL SALT II DO THAT? FRANKLY, I DON'T KNOW YET. I DO KNOW THAT I HAVE A LONG LIST OF TOUGH QUESTIONS TO PUT TO THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES. I'M GOING TO ASK ABOUT THE BACKFIRE BOMBER. I'M GOING TO ASK ABOUT VERIFICATION. I'M GOING TO ASK ABOUT SHARING TECHNOLOGY WITH OUR ALLIES. I'M GOING TO ASK ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, AND THE SLASHES THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAS MADE IN DEFENSE PLANNING.

I'M GOING TO ASK WHY DID WE KILL THE B-1 BOMBER. WHY DID WE SLOW DOWN THE MX MISSILE? WHY DO WE SEEM HESITANT IN FULFILLING OUR OBLIGATIONS ABROAD?

WE ARE A GREAT NATION, AND IT'S ABOUT TIME WE BEHAVE LIKE ONE. GREAT NATIONS SHOULDER GREAT RESPONSIBILITIES. IF WE HAVE TO SPEND DOLLARS FOR DEFENSE, ISN'T THAT BETTER THAN SPILLING BLOOD IN BATTLE?

A FAITH IN PEOPLE

FINALLY, MY FRIENDS, I WANT THE PEOPLE OF NORTH CAROLINA TO KNOW: IT'S TIME FOR ALL OF US TO RETURN TO OUR BASIC FAITH. WE BELIEVE IN PEOPLE INSTEAD OF GOVERNMENT, PRODUCTION INSTEAD OF CONSUMPTION, ACCOMPLISHMENT INSTEAD OF COMPLACENCY. THAT'S THE FAITH THAT MADE US GREAT. IT'S THE FAITH THAT CAN RESTORE OUR SENSE OF PURPOSE, AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT'S THE FAITH AT THE VERY CORE OF WHAT YOU AND I BELIEVE AS REPUBLICANS.

IT'S TIME FOR AMERICA TO BE GREAT AGAIN. MAY GOD GRANT US THE COURAGE AND THE WISDOM TO LEAD HER IN THE DAYS AHEAD.

AND THE TIME TO GET STARTED IS NOW.